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ABSTRACT

This scholarly paper written for the Second National Conference on Urban Education presents an overview of the black experience in the development of American education. It may be considered by some as a celebration of the Bicentennial. It begins with a discussion of the condition of blacks during the Revolutionary War and continues with an examination of this condition during the following four periods: 1) the Revolutionary to the Civil War, 2) the Civil War through Booker T. Washington to Plessy vs. Ferguson, 3) Plessy vs. Ferguson to Brown vs. Board of Education, and 4) Brown vs. Board of Education to the present. Throughout the discussion of each period, there are detailed references to specific books, documents, journals, acts and conventions, reflecting the black experience during a specific period of time. In addition quotes from prominent blacks and whites (e.g. John Hope Franklin, U.S. Supreme Court Justice John M. Harlan) are used to illustrate specific historic occasions. Included is a detailed list of "Legacies to Black Education" (important events in black American education organized according to the four historical periods designated by the paper). A bibliography is included. (PR)

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The Black Experience in the Development of American Education*

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Three distinguished Black leaders appeared on the Today Show to discuss the issue: Should Blacks celebrate The Bicentennial? The Anchor-Man explained that there was quite a division of opinion among Blacks on this issue. Three answers were given: a categorical "No," an unqualified "Yes," and a "Yes" with conditions and stipulations. The categorical "No" came from the distinguished historian, Dr. Lerone Bennett, Jr., author of eight books, including Before the Mayflower (A History of the Negro in America 1619-1964) and Senior Editor of Ebony. His reason--"200 years have passed and we are still not free." The unqualified "Yes" came from Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., and pastor of Chicago's historic Olivet Baptist Church. He argued that Blacks can rejoice because of the progress the nation has made toward realizing its basic democratic values--freedom, equality, respect for human personality and for the progress made in eliminating segregation and discrimination by direct affirmative action. The "Yes" with conditions and stipulations was given by Dr. Vernon E. Jordon, executive director of the National Urban League. Jordan contended that the Bicentennial should not be turned into a gaudy, shallow affair with little or no substance at all.

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He is of the opinion that Blacks should participate through adding substance and a Black perspective.

From one point of view, this Second National Conference on Urban Education is a relevant, significant way of participating in the Bicentennial. To include an overview of the Black Experience in the Development of American Education, as a crucial aspect of our American educational heritage, adds substance, perspective, and historical-social building blocks (foundations) to Urban Education - Its Progress and Developments; the theme of our Conference.

Painting the Picture at the Time of the Revoluntionary War

On the eve of the Revoluntionary War, there were 500,000 Black Americans out of a total population of 2,600,000, giving a ratio of 1 to 5, Black Americans thus comprising 20 percent of the total. This ratio was maintained until 1790, but since that time the Black American population has not equalled the 1 out of 5, 20 percent ratio. Although nine out of every ten Blacks were slaves and of these well over 90 percent lived in the South, there were 59,577 free Blacks in 1790 which suggests that there could have been a sizeable number of free Blacks in 1775-76.

These Black Americans--slave or free-heard about, discussed, and, in some cases, read the "all men are equal" philosophy, the "give me liberty or give me death" assertion, "Liberté', Equalité', Fraternité'" motto of the French Revolution and the "unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Although Thomas Jefferson had a 10,000 acre plantation and owned over 200 slaves, he wrote a paragraph in one of the early drafts of the Declaration of Independence, indicting and denouncing King George III for promoting slavery. The paragraph was in part as follows:

> He /King George/ has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere or to incur miserable death in their transport thither . . .[1]

According to Thomas Jefferson, these sentences were omitted in the draft adopted on July 4, 1776 because of the opposition of Georgia and South Carolina.

Other famous patriots who went on record as opposing slavery in principle were George Washington, James Madison, John Adams, Tom Paine, Patrick Henry, and Benjamin Franklin.

What a contradiction! Slavery within a nation preparing to wage war in defense of the "unalienable rights of all men to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness"!!

Black Americans--slave and free-welcomed the coming of the Revolutionary War and felt that it might bring a change for the better in their condition. As with no other group, the contagion of liberty took hold of the slaves in particular and free Blacks in general. Determined in part to test the sincerity of American theories of equal rights, slaves redoubled their efforts for emancipation through using a variety of methods: (1) freedom suits against their masters; (2) petitions to state legislators requesting their emancipation by pointing out that slavery was incompatible with justice, humanity, and the rights of mankind; (3) escape; and (4) military service (voluntary enlistment and trading military service for freedom). As a footnote to military service, some 4 to 5,000 Black Americans fought in the Revolutionary War. The Continental Army numbered about 50 Blacks in each battalion. At the Battle of Monmouth in June 1778,

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[1]Lerone Bennett, Jr. Before the Mayflower, A History of the Negro in America, 1619-1964 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966), pp. 51-52.

American Blacks constituted over 5 percent of General Washington's command.

Although slaves were important in the economic well-being of Revolutionary America, they were considered as outcasts socially. They were America's pariahs. Learned white men soberly debated the question as to whether dark skin color was a disease.

To say that Black Americans could not discharge the responsibilities of freedom did not preclude them as children of God with souls to be saved. Hence, in revolutionary America, some efforts were made to give slaves religious instruction, including reading the Bible. Particularly active in establishing schools for slaves in which they received training in reading and writing were the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts of the Episcopal Church and the Society of Friends (the Quakers) who added the function of preparing slaves for freedom. A key figure in this endeavor was Anthony Benezet, one of a small number of whites who believed that Blacks could learn and achieve academically. In 1750, Benezet established a night school for Blacks in Philadelphia. Twenty-five years later when the war broke out, Benezet's school had 46 pupils of whom six were white.

Woven into the fabric of this verbal picture were the desires of Black Americans for freedom and equality, the "unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and for first-class citizenship, coupled with an appreciation of the efforts of a minority of white men and women to eliminate from American society the twin forces of segregation and discrimination. Undergirding and permeating these desires was a faith in education, a faith akin to their faith in religion, a faith that could move mountains, redeem their pride and dignity, and help them develop self-esteem and a positive self-concept. Hence, for purposes of clarity and convenience, the

remainder of our discussion of the Black Experience in the Development of American Education--Its Trials, Tribulations, and Triumphs--is divided accordingly:

1. Revolutionary to Civil War
2. Civil War through Booker T. Washington to Plessy vs. Ferguson
3. Plessy vs. Ferguson to Brown vs. Board of Education
4. Since Brown vs. Board of Education

Revolutionary to Civil War

The missionary societies of the various religious denominations continued their work of establishing schools and teaching Blacks (slave and free) the fundamentals, in order to realize the goals for Christian education, saving souls, and in some instances, for teaching those disciplines necessary for preparing Black Americans for freedom. In some cases, slaves were taught by the master, his wife, and through playtime activities, by his children. The practice of training slaves partially converted the plantation into "an industrial school." There was a differentiation in the education given slaves who were "house servants" and slaves who were "field hands." Some masters responded to the sheer challenge of a slave's brightness of mind and gift of talents by placing him under the tutelage of master craftsmen.

As indicated previously, Anthony Benezet, a Quaker, was among the first to teach and open a free school for Blacks. Commenting on his work and particularly on the educability of Blacks, he wrote:

> I can with truth and sincerity declare that I have found amongst the Negroes as a variety of talents as amongst a like number of whites; and I am bold to assert that the notion entertained by some that blacks are inferior in their

> capacities, is vulgar prejudice, founded on the pride or ignorance of their lordly masters, who have kept their slaves at such a distance as to be unable to form a right judgment of them.[2]

Though appreciative of the educational efforts of white men and women and their contributions in creating a climate favorable to their education, Black Americans took some steps themselves, "to lift themselves by their own bootstraps," educationally speaking. Prince Hall, founder of Masonry for Blacks, recognized the value of education, emhpasized it, and opened a school in his own home. Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and Absalom Jones, founder of St. Thomas Episcopal Church, opened schools in their churches. Although they could neither read nor write, three Blacks--George Bell, Nicholas Franklin, and Moses Liverpool established the first school for Blacks in Washington, D. C. Paul Cuffee, born in Westport Massachusetts, in 1759, self-educated Black American, wealthy shipowner, along with other Blacks, appealed to the General Court of Massachusetts to establish schools for Black children in Boston.

A noteworthy contemporary of these early patriotic Black Americans was James Forten who served in the American Navy and later developed a sailmaking business. He cooperated in issuing a call for the First Conventions of Colored People in 1817 and 1830. Each of these conventions adopted resolutions urging education for Black Americans.

Freedom's Journal was the first of the Black newspapers. Its editors were Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm. This newspaper was issued on March 16, 1827, four years before The Liberator by William Lloyd Garrison, the prominent white abolitionist. It is of great significance to note the imperative for education, in the first editorial in Freedom's Journal,

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[2]George S. Brooks, Friend Anthony Benezet (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937), p. 46.

namely; "It is surely time that we should awake from this legacy of years and make a concentrated effort for the education of our youth."

With slave revolts and insurrections like Gabriel's in 1801, Denmark Vesey's in 1822 and Nat Turner's in 1831, together with smaller ones in various places at this time, a hostile climate toward Black education began to develop. The effects of the backlash began to take its toll and fear gripped the nation. Churches and schools with teachers and preachers were charged with being among the influences leading to these outbreaks. One Governor alleged that teachers and preachers had "great ascendancy over the minds of discontented slaves." The House of Burgesses in Virginia had declared:

> We have as far as possible closed every avenue by which light may enter their minds--they would then be on a level with the beasts of the field, and we would be safe.[3]

This opposition was not confined to the South. Prudence Crandall's school was closed and razed in Canterbury, Connecticut. Noyes Academy in New Hampshire had ropes and chains tied around the school building; then, drawn by oxen, it was torn from its foundation and dragged to the swamp.

Throughout the 1830s, laws were enacted by state legislators against the instruction of slaves and the assemblies of Blacks except when a white man was present. For example, in 1831 Georgia passed a law providing that any Negro who should teach another to read or to write, should be punished by fine and whipping. If a white person should so offend, he should be punished with a fine not exceeding $500 and with imprisonment in the common jail at the discretion of the committing magistrate.

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[3]Carter G. Woodson (Quoting from Coffin, Slave Insurrections, p. 23; and Goodell, Slave Code, p. 323). The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 (Washington: The Associated Publishers, 1919), p. 171.

In spite of this opposition, there were some bright spots. Liberal white people of the South considered these enactments as not applicable to those Southerners interested in the improvement of their slaves but to "mischievous abolitionists." Oberlin College founded in 1833, admitted both Black students along with white students. By the time of the Civil War, the ratio of Blacks to whites was one to three; that is, 33 1/3 percent of the enrollment at Oberlin was Black. As Blacks showed evidence of the value of education and freedom, many whites moved by an enlightened sense of right and wrong manumitted Blacks and made freedom possible through manumissions and wills probated after the death of their owners. One of this group was Richard Humphries, an ex-slaveholder, who left $10,000 for a school in which agriculture and mechanical arts would be taught. He further stipulated in his will that the school would be conducted by the Quakers in Philadelphia. This action led to the Institution for Colored Youth in Pennsylvania. In 1851, Matilda Miner, a pioneering white educator, established an Academy for Black Girls in Washington, D. C., which became Miner Teachers College.

In 1849, a significant case against segregation in the public schools of Boston involved Benjamin Roberts whose five-year-old daughter was not permitted to enroll in a public school. Senator Charles Sumner, the great abolitionist, and Robert Morris, a Black lawyer were Roberts' attorneys. His appeal was denied by the Massachusetts Supreme Court. However, "right" triumphed in 1855, when segregation in Massachusetts schools was denied by an enactment in law.

Colleges predominantly attended by Blacks were established in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York. They were (1) Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, in 1856; (2) Wilberforce University, 1856, Wilberforce, Ohio, with four

Blacks and 20 whites on its first Board of Trustees and with Daniel A. Payne who in 1863 became the first Black University president in the United States; and (3) New York Central at McShawville with Charles L. Redson, George B. Vashon, and William G. Allen, Black men, on its faculty.

The great Black abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who was interested in and dedicated to education, proposed a college of mechanical arts.

In spite of the few schools established and the legal and social constrictions against education of Blacks, many Black men and women learned to read and write and became educated persons. The first two Black Americans to graduate from college were Edward A. Jones, Amherst College in 1826 who later founded Fourbay College in Sierra Leone and John B. Russwurm from Bowdoin College who became Editor and Publisher of Freedom's Journal to which reference has already been made.

Civil War through Booker T. Washington to Plessy Vs. Ferguson

During the war years and thereafter, liberal, dedicated, responsible teachers from the North came into the South, ravaged and disrupted by the war, and developed private schools. In the face of local opposition and insults hurled at them, these dedicated men and women were to a considerable degree the major sources of schooling for the newly emancipated children and adults. Several philanthropic groups helped through financial assistance such as the Daniel Hand Fund, the Southern Education Board, the George F. Peabody Fund, the John F. Slater Fund, the Anna Jeanes Fund.

A great deal of the early progress made in developing mass education for Black Americans came as the result of the efforts of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands--popularly known as the Freedmen's Bureau--established in the War Department by Congress in 1865. The Bureau

established over 4,000 schools, from the elementary grades through college, charging no fees and often furnishing free textbooks. Approximately, 250,000 former slaves received varying amounts of education through the efforts of the Bureau.

Despite its many accomplishments, the great majority of white Southerners opposed the establishment of schools by the Bureau because they thought that Blacks could not absorb book learning. Even worse, in the eyes of Southerners was the feeling that the Yankee teachers were fostering social equality by eating with Blacks and addressing them as "Miss" or "Mr."

In the years immediately following the Civil War, constitutional conventions were called in the Southern states who had seceded from the Union, for the purpose of revising, modifying, amending, or drawing up constitutions which would meet with the approval of Congress. Because the conservative element in the various conventions fought hard to keep the social order as close to ante-bellum status as possible, the Republican-Black American bloc experienced tremendous difficulty in getting articles on free, tax-supported public education adopted and particularly bitter was the fight regarding the establishment of racially-integrated public schools. In Education in American Life, Stephens and Van Til indicate that in 1868, South Carolina established a system of public education, made school attendance compulsory, when the system was fully formed, and opened all schools to all children and youths of the state without regard to race or color. It is of interest to note that some states in the North approved segregation. In fact, one year after South Carolina's action establishing free public, tax-supported, integrated schools, Indiana approved segregated schools, thereby making segregated schools, permissive rather than mandatory, for seventy five years.

In establishing a free public school system, the Southern states

encountered a number of problems such as: (1) securing adequately trained personnel--teachers, principals, superintendents, (2) complaints against expenses for running schools, including tax-support of schools, and (3) fear that mixed schools would be forced upon them. Just as the states had these problems in common, they also had an advantage. Each state inherited some kind of ready-made school system through the work of various benevolent societies and the Freedmen's Bureau.

Black Americans were appointed superintendents in Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, and Arkansas. Florida's State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1872 was Johnathan C. Gibbs, a very efficient educator who was a graduate of Dartmouth College and Prince Theological Seminary.

Atlanta University was founded in 1865; Fisk in 1868; and Howard University was chartered by Congress in 1867.

Several Black churches began providing secondary and higher education for Black Americans. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church founded Livingston College in 1879; The African Methodist Episcopal Church added Allen in 1880; The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church established Lane in 1881; and The American Baptist Home Mission Society founded Augusta Institute in 1867; which became Morehouse College.

At this point in time, many white southerners resented the Republican-Black American state governments. These new state governments were scorned and hated by the masses and the planter-business class. It galled them to see former slaves holding high public office and parading in the militia. With minds plagued with the idea of Black equality, these aroused and angered whites vowed to bring about some changes that would "put Blacks in their place." Southern conservatives launched a counterrevolution and joined secret societies like the White League of Louisiana and the Ku Klux Klan.

In some communities, Blacks were forcibly prevented from attending schools and teachers were not permitted to teach. Churches that often housed schools were sometimes burned. Some of the teachers suffered intimidation, insult, scorn, and ostracism; a few were killed.

To keep Black Americans "in their place," the K. K. K. employed numerous techniques:

1. Fright
2. Threats
3. Burning down one's home
4. Corporal punishment--whipping, tar-and-feathering
5. Lynching

A similar fate, as just described, might overtake white Republicans or whites who fraternized with Blacks.

Thinking seriously about Southern markets and trade and simultaneously wanting a peaceful climate in the South, eastern and northern industrialists decided that it was best to adopt a "hands-off" policy and let the South handle its "Negro problem." Politically, this idea was expressed in the deal made with the South by Rutherford B. Hayes, sometimes called the "Hayes Compromise," the "Hayes Bargain." For the support of the South in the disputed election of 1876, Hayes' campaign managers promised that if elected, Hayes, on taking office, would withdraw the remaining federal troops from the South. Hayes lived up to his bargain and removed the last prop of the teetering Republican-Black American state governments. Added to the Federal government's abandoning of Black Americans was the instituting of a process of legal attrition that left the race at a status position just above slavery and far short of full citizenship. The Congressional power behind

Black American's civil liberties was to be nullified; liberties guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment eroded; and his entire life circumscribed and curtailed by a system of segregation sanctioned by legal authority.

Perhaps, the most dominant figure in Black Education (not only in the New South but nationally) during the last quarter of the 19th century and a significant portion of the first quarter of the 20th century, was Booker T. Washington, who expounded a philosophy partly contrary to that of Frederick Douglass who died in 1895. Born in 1859 in Virginia, he entered Hampton Institute and graduated under General Samuel C. Armstrong who believed in a vigorous attempt to "lift the colored race" by a practical education that would fit them for life. In 1881, Booker T. Washington founded Tuskegee Institute and began to combine the practical and academic in a new educational method.

Speaking before the Cotton States and International Exposition at Atlanta, Georgia in 1895, Booker T. Washington offered guidelines on the basis of which Blacks and whites could make peace with each other in the South. The guidelines specified that Blacks abandon their interest in starting at the top of Southern society, that they put forth their best efforts in exploiting the opportunities they had always experienced at the bottom where they lived. In other words, "You can't build a chimney from the top." As though apologizing for the failure of Black Americans to do this in the past, Booker T. said:

> Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attraction than starting a dairy farm or being a truck driver.[4]

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[4] Booker T. Washington. Up From Slavery (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1933), pp. 220-223.

In the place of this strategy which had always elicited conflict and hard feeling between the two races, Washington suggested that each race start where it was. In a cry that sounded around the world, he urged: "Cast down your bucket where you are." To Blacks, he appealed that they "cast down in agriculture, mechanics, commerce, domestic service, and in the professions." He appealed to whites to "cast down upon the eight millions of Negroes" who could, once again, form the South's basic labor force. Suddenly, Booker T. Washington flung his hand aloft, with fingers held wide apart. "In all things that are purely social," he said, "we can be as separate as the fingers, yet (he balled the fingers into a fist) one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

According to James Creelman,[5] the famous reporter and correspondent of The New York World, a "great wave of sound dashed itself against the wall and the whole audience was on its feet in a delirium of applause." When the din subsided, Booker T. Washington mentioned the unmentionable, social equality, in the following manner:

> The wisest among my race, he said, understand the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than artificial forcing.

This speech, the Atlanta Compromise, set the tone for Black leadership for some twenty years.

Among the many impressions which Booker T. Washington made upon the course of Black education, particularly in the South, two seemed preeminent. His educational philosophy and practice allayed the fears of Southern whites

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[5]Lerone Bennett, Jr. Before the Mayflower, A History of the Negro in America, 1619-1964 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966), pp.228-29.

concerning the Black American and won the support of whites of both regions for the public education movement. The second and greatest influence probably rested on the emphasis and weight he gave the "special education" movement. He left little doubt in the minds of a large number of educators and philanthropists--the Slaters, Rosenwalds, Carnegies, and Rockefellers--that Black Americans required a particular kind of education for their particular condition. He seemed to have looked forward to a completely biracial society with a benevolent co-existence with whites.

For a long period of time, a running verbal battle took place between Booker T. Washington on the one hand and W. E. B. DuBois, the champion of the "classical" education leaders on the other. In the end, both industrial schools like Hampton and Tuskegee and the liberal arts schools like Atlanta and Fisk were engaged in the task of "Black education." The two types of schools educated Black youths for different classes within the same caste system.

Earlier, it was indicated that in the years immediately following the Civil War, the Southern states included, in their new constitutions, provisions for the establishment of free public schools without regard to race, color, or previous conditions of servitude. As an example, Article X, Sections 3 and 10 of the 1868 Constitution of South Carolina were summarized. At this juncture, however, these constitutions were amended, in order to establish a dual system of schools--one for Blacks, the other for whites. For example, Article XI, Section 7,[6] Constitution of South Carolina, 1895 reads as follows: "Separate schools shall be provided for children of the white and colored races, and no child of either race shall ever be permitted to attend a school provided for children of the other race."

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[6] From Constitution of South Carolina of 1895 as quoted in W. Richard Stephens and William Van Til, Education in American Life (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972), p. 108.

The freedom to discriminate against Black Americans was made legally possible by the Supreme Court's decision in the case of Plessy vs. Ferguson. The Louisiana Legislature adopted a law in 1890, requiring that railroad seating be assigned on the basis of color. Plessy, one eighth African, took a seat in a coach for white passengers and refused to move when requested. He was found guilty of violating the law and appealed the decision. The U. S. Supreme Court ruled against him with the words, "If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plane." This "separate-but-equal" doctrine began to dominate the relationship between white and Black people and provided "Jim Crow" education with a legal basis--"de jure" segregation. In his dissenting opinion Justice John M. Harlan said:

> I am of the opinion that the statute of Louisiana is inconsistent with the personal liberty of citizens, white and black, in the State, and hostile to both the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States. If laws of like character should be enacted in the several states of the Union, the effect would be in the highest degree mischievous. Slavery, as an institution tolerated, by law, would it is true, have disappeared from our country, but there would remain a power in the states, by sinister legislation, to interfere with the full enjoyment of the blessings of freedom, to regulate civil rights, common to all citizens, upon the basis of race, and to place in a condition of legal inferiority a large body of American citizens, now constituting a part of the political community, called the people of the United States.[7]

Although legally sanctioned barriers of caste were raised in the so-called New South (1877-1913) as Southern white rule was restored, the idea of Black education began to receive sympathetic acceptance. By the turn of the century, some Southern communities were giving limited financial support to segregated Black education, controlled by whites, unequally

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[7]Henry Allen Bullock. A History of Negro Education in the South. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 70.

supported and devoted almost exclusively to elementary or industrial and agricultural education. In the atmosphere of Reconstruction and the New South, public education for Blacks and many white Southerners existed primarily on the law books.

In many communities only about half of the children of school age attended any school at all, and only about half of those enrolled attended with a fair degree of regularity. The length of the school term was only a few months and classes were conducted often in a crowded one-room shack or church house by a teacher who earned a handsome salary of $200 per year prior to 1900. At the turn of the century, the Southern states spent an average of $4.92 per year on a white child and $2.71 on a Black child; 18 percent of the Black American population in the Southern states attended schools; and approximately 40 percent of the Black American population in the Southern states was literate.

Plessy vs. Ferguson to Brown vs. The Board of Education (Including World War I-II Period)

With the Atlanta Compromise and the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision, the future of Black Americans was settled for the next fifty years. However, in terms of recent research pertaining to upper-class domination of educational policy during the 19th and 20th centuries by historians and recent research on Southern Black education, one must add at least another variable to the truth-value statement(equation) just made. And it was the desire and insistence, on the part of those philanthropists and Northerners who had major investments in Southern railroads, coal mines, and steel mills, for separate industrial education designed to provide an easily-managed, non-union, cheap labor force. The Black ballot had been virtually silenced;

the two races constituted distinct castes; Black and white children attended two different schools in the South. The same situation existed in many parts of the North at the elementary level and at both elementary and secondary levels in those parts, where segregation was permissive or where there was "de facto" segregation because of residential patterns resulting from the "Great Migrations" of Blacks from South to the North and West. Though obligated to the same flag, Black students and white students were educated in two distinct socio-cultural worlds, thereby developing their own life styles and becoming two different kinds of people.

On purely quantitative dimensions--provision of educational opportunities; per capita educational costs; length of school term; teacher's salaries; training of teachers; provision of textbooks; instructional supplies and equipment; multi-media aids; school buildings, grounds, facilities; results on standardized achievement tests; per cent of students graduating from high school, attending colleges, and graduating from college; percent of literates, "et cetera," "et cetera," "ad infinitum"--the education of Black boys and girls was inferior to that of white boys and girls, despite the separate-but-equal doctrine.

Speaking frankly on publicly-supported high schools for Black Americans in Atlanta at a race commission meeting in 1917 at Raleigh, North Carolina, John Hope,[8] president of Morehouse College said:

> There is no Negro high school in Atlanta . . . and only about three in the State of Georgia . . . in the Atlanta colored schools there /is/ no industrial training at all . . . Negroes had voted for school bonds and been promised additional

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[8] Louis R. Harlan. Separate and Unequal. (New York: Atheneum, 1969), p. 263.

> schools. The Negroes have complained . . . but they still believe that it 'won't do no good.' The Negroes are growing restless. When Atlanta was cleaned up; the Negro quarter was ignored. These things are conducive to migration.

In his, Who's Who Among Negro Principals, Jeanes Curriculum Directors and State Instructional Consultants in Georgia, 1954-1964 (A History of Negro Education in Georgia), editorialized in the April 9, 1964 issue of the Atlanta Constitution by the late Pulitzer Prize Winner Ralph McGill, the author[9] stated:

> The Atlanta Study (Teaching and Learning in the Atlanta Public Schools) stands mockingly in silent testimony to the basic inferiority of our schools, the product of the "separate-but-equal doctrine which has meant, in most instances, "separate-but-unequal."

In the Sixteenth Yearbook (1962) of the John Dewey Society, W. O. Low[10] enumerates some significant changes in Black education between World Wars I and II. Among those changes are the following:

1. A significant establishment of Negro public high schools, a development that was pronounced in large urban areas both North and South.

2. Enormous increases in both relative and actual sizes of the enrollment, supply of teachers, number of graduates, and capital outlay. There were programs of consolidation, new curricula, and many changes suggested by general American patterns and trends in elementary and secondary education.

3. Similar changes at the college level. Many Negro colleges dropped their high school programs; some added graduate instruction. Many degree conscious Negroes graduated in ever increasing numbers from Negro and Northern colleges. Regional accrediting agencies added more and more Negro colleges to their lists.

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[9] Wesley J. Lyda and Napoleon Williams, p. 9.

[10] W. O. Low, pp. 53-54.

4. State supported and land-grant institutions surpassed the private Negro colleges in enrollment and financial support. The need thus arose for the United Negro College Fund.

5. The most profound change was the quest for equality. In great part this quest was conducted quietly and diplomatically, though forcefully by Negro teachers and their former students, even within a segregated system controlled mainly by whites.

In 1948, the U. S. Supreme Court handed down the first of a series of decisions on school segregation: Sipuel vs. University of Oklahoma in 1948 for a Black young woman's admission to the law school, for which a special law school had been provided; Sweatt vs. Painter in 1950, significant because the Supreme Court applied not only a quantitative test to the "separate-but-equal" doctrine but also a qualitative test, the result of which was a decision in favor of the plaintiff; Swanson vs. University of Virginia in 1950, decided for the admission of Swanson; in McLauren vs. Oklahoma also in 1950, McLauren was admitted; in Gray vs. the University of Tennessee in 1952, Gray's admission was ordered by the Court.

The N.A.A.C.P. was now better organized and equipped to mount an effort to have the "separate-but-equal" doctrine declared null and void. An increasing number of Americans--Black and white--analyzed and evaluated the "separate-but-equal" rule, saw it for what it was, namely, a hoax, a device to stigmatize Blacks and brand them as inferior. On the international scene, the United States had assumed world leadership, the defender of the free world; yet, all over the globe other people questioned America's integrity and credibility because of her treatment of her Black citizens. Other Black people, Brown people, Yellow people--all of them--began to wonder if America would apply the "separate-but-equal" rule to them.

A year after Sweatt entered the University of Texas law school, cases were on file in four states and the District of Columbia, asking four federal and one state court to apply the qualitative test of the Sweatt case to elementary and secondary schools, and declare that the "separate-but-equal" rule had no validity in the area of public education. The four states were Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia and Delaware. Finally, the four state cases were grouped and decided as Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka and the District of Columbia case was decided separately, as Boling vs. Sharpe. This case was decided on May 17, 1954 when the Supreme Court of the United States declared that the "separate-but-equal" rule had no validity in the area of public education, outlawing segregation in education, declaring it null and void.

Since Brown vs. Board of Education

The next issue before the U. S. Supreme Court was the implementation of its May 17, 1954 decision, outlawing segregation in the area of public education. On May 31, 1955, Chief Justice Warren spoke for a unanimous Court:

> Full implementation of . . . constitutional principles may require solution of varied local school problems. School authorities have the primary responsibility for . . . solving these problems; courts will have to consider whether the action of school authorities constitute good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles. Because of their proximity to local conditions and the possible need for further hearings, the courts which originally heard these cases can best perform this judical appraisal. Accordingly, we believe it appropriate to remand the cases to those courts.[11]

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[11]Loren Miller. "Very Deliberate Speed." The Segregation Era 1963-1954 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 287.

The courts, to which the cases were remanded, were also told to "require that defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954 decision . . . Once such a start has been made, the courts may find that additional time is necessary to carry out the ruling in an effective manner."[12]

The "all deliberate speed" evolved into plenty of deliberation but little speed on the part of segregated school systems-- "de jure" or "de facto," respectively.

"Nullification" and "interposition" became the key words and action of those who opposed the decision outlawing school segregation. The implementation decision, which was gradualistic, gave those who opposed the decision an opportunity to act with little good-faith deliberation but to accelerate their rate of circumvention. They joined such groups as White Citizens Councils, American Rights Associations, National Association for the Advancement and Protection of the White Race, the Ku Klux Klan and many other such groups.

Over fifteen years after the Supreme Court's unanimous decision, approximately 80 percent of Black youth were still attending all Black schools. "de facto" segregation took the place of "de jure" segregation in many places. The 1964 Civil Rights Act, the result in part of the Civil Rights Movement under the leadership of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., provided additional leverage for desegregation through provisions that the federal government may withhold school funds where no adequate desegregation plan has been undertaken by a school board. This provision hastened desegregation originally but stimulated the flight of whites from city to suburbs and the establishment of numerous private and parochial schools. The result

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[12]Loren Miller. "Very Deliberate Speed." The Segregation Era, 1863-1954 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 287.

has been re-segregation, the development of Ghetto schools, and the insistence of the "Black Power" movement (in fact, the Black Revolution of the 60's and early 70's) that Black communities control their own schools.

Stemming in part from HEW guidelines on desegregation and in part from court-approved desegregation plans are a number of issues and problems causing frustrations, agony, and anguish, for both Black and white Americans, namely:

1. The controversy revolving around the issue of busing, as the result of desegregation plans, and James S. Coleman's recent research.

2. Busing, as the result of desegregation plans, to achieve racial balance and/or quality education on the one hand and the neighborhood school on the other.

3. Cultural pluralism vs. the melting pot theory.

4. Black studies, ethnic studies, multi-cultural education.

5. Inner-city problems of quality--yet relevant--education; health; housing, value clarification; drug abuse, including the consumption of alcohol; familial relationships; violence; and job opportunities with a capital J, underscored.

6. Value clarification for both Black and white Americans, resulting in behavioral congruence within a framework of basic American democratic values as expressed in our great historic documents.

These are some of the crucial issues facing Black Americans, white Americans, in fact all Americans, as we celebrate our Bicentennial.

Summary and Concluding Note

At this point, let us summarize legacies to Black Education, building blocks which cannot be omitted from the foundations of Urban Education.

Legacies to Black Education

1. Eve of Revolutionary War coupled with Revolutionary to Civil War

   1.1 The early decision to give Christian instruction to slaves regardless of opposition.

   1.2 The instruction of Black Americans by religious, civic, and benovelent groups before as well as after manumission.

   1.3 Restraints placed upon Black Americans by the slave power of the South, especially after Nat Turner's insurrection.

2. Civil War through Booker T. Washington to Plessy vs. Ferguson

   2.1 The right of Blacks to be educated as free men, established after the military and political collapse of the slave power in the South.

   2.2 The work of the Freedmen's Bureau in establishing schools from elementary grades through college.

   2.3 The religious, Eastern, and Northern influence in the establishment and support of Black institutions during and following period of Reconstruction.

   2.4 The program of "special education," including industrial education enunciated by Booker T. Washington in the so-called "Atlanta Compromise."

   2.5 For a long period of time, the running verbal battle between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, the champion of the "classical" education leaders.

3. Plessy vs. Ferguson to Brown vs. Board of Education

   3.1 The advent of public support based somewhat upon the principles of the "Atlanta Compromise," in terms of which segregated institutions and systems flourished and expanded, especially by the time of World War II, under the separate-but equal doctrine.

   3.2 The Black legal protest movement determined either to make the "separate-but-equal" doctrine more nearly a reality or replace it with at least desegregated, but hopefully, integrated schools. The result, of course, was the May 17, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, outlawing segregation.

4. Since Brown vs. Board of Education

4.1 The implementation of the May 17, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court by means of its May 31, 1955 decision which was gradualistic, requiring "all deliberate speed."

4.2 The "snail-pace" rate of implementation during the fifteen year period following the 1955 implementation decision.

4.3 Additional leverage for accelerating desegregation through employing provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to the effect that the federal government may withhold school funds where no adequate desegregation plan has been undertaken by a school board.

4.4 Re-segregation, the development of Ghetto schools, and the insistence that Black communities control their own schools.

4.5 Numerous critical issues, already enumerated, particularly the controversy (including militant action) around the issue of desegregation plans, to achieve racial balance and/or quality education, exacerbated by an insistence that the neighborhood-school concept be implemented. Recent examples--Louisville and Boston.

Periods--1, 2, 3, and 4

Regardless of the historic period, the significant contributions and supportive efforts of numerous white Ameircans--sometimes relatively small, other times, significantly large--to the education of Black Americans.

Let us recognize that Americans can have diversity within unity and unity through diversity. Black education as part of our American educational heritage has, for 200 years, experienced trials, tribulations, and triumphs--triumphs which, hopefully, <u>through and in terms of Education</u> continually and continuously translate our basic American democratic values, carefully and adequately clarified--freedom, equality, respect for personality, reasoning and reasonableness, team work, faith in improvability of human nature, as significant goals of <u>Urban Education</u>.

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